

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3828

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E.O. 11652 N/A

TAGS: PFOR, VN, VS, SW

SUBJECT: TEXT OF FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSSON'S SPEECH

REF: STOCKHOLM 0448

FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL WORD-FOR-WORD EMBASSY TRANSLATION  
OF SPEECH ON VIETNAM DELIVERED BY SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER  
SVEN ANDERSSON ON JANUARY 27, 1975, IN STOCKHOLM:

TODAY, TWO YEARS AGO, THE PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIETNAM WAS  
SIGNED. IT HAD DOUBLE HEADLINES. THE END OF THE WAR  
WAS ONE, THE RETURN OF PEACE WAS THE OTHER. THERE WAS  
ALREADY AT THAT TIME SOME DOUBTS THAT EITHER OF THESE  
GOALS WOULD BE REACHED. IN ANY CASE, IT WOULD NOT BE  
PAINLESS. BUT THE AGREEMENT WAS GREETED WITH RELIEF AND  
SATISFACTION, NOT THE LEAST IN SWEDEN. FINALLY THERE WAS  
A HOPE TO BRING AN END TO THE SUFFERING AND DESTRUC-  
TION IN A COUNTRY WHICH SO TERRIBLY HAD BEEN RAVAGED BY  
WAR. FINALLY THE PEOPLE OF VIETNAM WOULD BE ABLE TO  
DECIDE ABOUT THEIR OWN FUTURE. WE WERE ALL CONSCIOUS THAT  
THE ROAD TO CONCILIATION WOULD BE LONG AND TOILSOME,  
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BUT WE DARED TO HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TRAVEL.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT SATISFY THE INTERESTS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND PROVIDE A SOLID BASE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION. THE AGREEMENT IN CLEAR LANGUAGE PUT AN END TO CONTINUED AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES CONFIRMED FOR ITS PART THE STATEMENTS OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENT ABOUT VIETNAM'S INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. FURTHERMORE, GUIDELINES WERE ESTABLISHED FOR A POLITICAL SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT IN SOUTH VIETNAM ON THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON EQUAL FOOTING BETWEEN THE TWO SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES, WITHOUT FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

TWO YEARS HAVE NOW PASSED SINCE THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED AND THE HOPES FOR A PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM ACCORDING TO THE TREATY HAVE ONLY PARTIALLY BEEN FULFILLED. THE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN OBSERVED INsofar AS THE CESSATION OF THE DIRECT AMERICAN WARFARE AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM, THE EVACUATION OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY FORCES FROM SOUTH VIETNAM, AND THE EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

IN NORTH VIETNAM THE BOMBS CEASED FALLING AFTER THE INTENSIVE AIR WAR AT CHRISTMAS 1972. THIS IS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE, WHICH WE GREET WITH SATISFACTION.

HOWEVER, IN SOUTH VIETNAM THE GUNS HAVE NOT BEEN SILENCED. BY NOT SIGNING THE AGREEMENT ON THE SAME DOCUMENT AS PRG, THE SAIGON REGIME DEMONSTRATED ALREADY AT THE TIME OF ITS SIGNING ITS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT PRG AS A NEGOTIATING PARTNER OF EQUAL MERIT. THE MECHANICS FOR SUPERVISING THE ARMISTICE WERE PARALYZED ALREADY AT THE BEGINNING SINCE PRG'S REPRESENTATIVES WERE PREVENTED FROM CARRYING OUT ITS TASKS. INSTEAD, THE THIEU REGIME USED THE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH A MILITARY OFFENSIVE. BY A SERIES OF OPERATIONS, THE SAIGON FORCES SEIZED CONTROL DURING 1973 OF IMPORTANT AREAS, WHICH WERE CONTROLLED BY THE PRG AT THE TIME THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED. TODAY THE FIGHTING CONTINUES. ACCORDING TO AMERICAN REPORTS, ALMOST 100,000 VIETNAMESE HAVE BEEN KILLED DURING THE TWO YEARS SINCE THE SIGNING OF THE AGREEMENT. THERE IS AN EVEN LARGER NUMBER OF WOUNDED. THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THESE DEVELOPMENTS RESTS HEAVILY ON THE SAIGON REGIME

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AND THOSE WHO SUPPORT ITS POLICIES.

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PARTIES ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION HAVE BEEN BROKEN OFF, WITHOUT LEADING TO ANY RESULT. A LARGE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS ARE STILL HELD IN THE PRISONS OF THE SAIGON REGIME AND THE REFUGEES ARE PREVENTED FROM RETURNING TO THEIR HOME AREAS. THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS MENTIONED IN THE AGREEMENT -- FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY, FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL

ACTIVITIES -- HAVE STAYED ON THE PAPER. THOSE WHO DEMAND THAT THE STIPULATIONS OF THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE OBSERVED RUN THE RISK OF BEING PERSECUTED, IMPRISONED AND MURDERED.

IT IS AGAINST THIS DARK BACKGROUND WE TODAY CONSIDER THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND ARE FORCED TO ADMIT THAT MANY OF ITS BASIC PRINCIPLES HAVE BEEN GROSSLY DISREGARDED. THE PARIS AGREEMENT CALLS FOR AN END OF THE AMERICAN INTERVENTION, AS PER ARTICLE FOUR OF THE AGREEMENT. THE ARTICLE READS: "THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT CONTINUE ITS MILITARY INTERVENTION OR INTERFERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS." IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, AFTER BEING FREED OF ITS MILITARY ENGAGEMENT IN VIETNAM, HAS NOT ACCEPTED THE FULL CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGREEMENT SIGNED. NEITHER DOES IT SEEM TO HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE LESSON OF THE LAST 20 YEARS.

THE RECENT MILITARY SETBACKS FOR SAIGON HAVE CAUSED THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO STATE THAT HE INTENDS TO ASK FOR STILL MORE MONEY FOR THE SAIGON GOVERNMENT, WHOSE WARFARE IS ALMOST COMPLETELY FINANCED BY THE UNITED STATES. FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR 1.2 BILLION DOLLARS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED,

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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OF WHICH 700 MILLION CONSTITUTES MILITARY AID. NOW AN

ADDITIONAL 300 MILLION DOLLARS WILL BE ASKED.

ON THE AMERICAN SIDE IT IS SAID THAT ONE FEELS FULLY JUSTIFIED IN VIOLATING THE AGREEMENT, REFERRING TO THE ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF THE OTHER PARTY. THIS OPENS EXTREMELY DISQUIETING PERSPECTIVES.

THE REGIME IN SAIGON HAS BEEN ABLE TO CLING TO POWER SOLELY AS A RESULT OF AMERICAN SUPPORT. IT HAS NEVER HAD ANY BASE AMONG THE PEOPLE. AN INCREASED AMERICAN INTERVENTION WILL ONLY SERVE TO PROLONG THE CONFLICT.

THE SITUATION IS REMINISCENT OF THE POSITION IN THE EARLY 1960'S, WHEN THE WAR IN SOUTH VIETNAM WAS CARRIED ON WITH AMERICAN WEAPONS, MONEY, AND ADVISERS BUT WITHOUT A DIRECT ROLE OF AMERICAN FIGHTING PERSONNEL. THE DIFFERENCE IS PRIMARILY THAT TODAY IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT WE HAVE AN INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED FORMULA FOR A SOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT. IT IS DEEPLY TRAGIC THAT THE POSSIBILITIES OFFERED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT WERE NOT USED. THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON SEEMS TO DOUBT ITS OWN ABILITY TO PLAY ITS ROLE IN SUCH A POLITICAL TRIAL OF STRENGTH. IT CONTINUES TO PREVENT THE PRG AND THE THIRD FORCE FROM PLAYING THE ROLE IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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POLITICAL LIFE TO WHICH IS PROVIDED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

THE PARIS AGREEMENT DEALS NOT ONLY WITH VIETNAM, BUT ALSO WITH LAOS AND CAMBODIA. IN THE AGREEMENT, THE PARTIES DECLARED THAT ALL FOREIGN TROOPS SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM THESE TWO COUNTRIES. THE GUARANTEES FOR THEIR NEUTRALITY WERE RESTATED. THE LAOTIAN POPULATION HAS IN 1974 FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MORE THAN 20 YEARS BEEN ABLE TO ENJOY A PEACEFUL LIFE. IN APRIL LAST YEAR A GOVERNMENT OF UNITY WAS FORMED BY THE PATHET LAO AND THE VIENTIANE SIDE, WITH PRINCE SOUVANNA PHOUMA AS PRIME MINISTER. THE PRINCE HAD ALREADY EARLIER, BOTH IN 1957 AND 1962, BEEN A LEADER OF SIMILAR COALITION GOVERNMENTS, WHICH WERE VERY SHORT-LIVED. NEW FIGHTING HAD SOON BROKEN OUT. THIS TIME WE CAN STATE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF UNITY IN LAOS SO FAR HAS STOOD UP TO THE STRAINS WHICH APPEAR TO BE UNAVOIDABLE WITH REGARD TO THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND.

IN LAOS, THERE ARE THUS CONDITIONS FOR A REHABILITATION. BUT THERE IS A SHARP CONTRAST IN CAMBODIA. THERE THE FIGHTING CONTINUES. THE BOMBINGS STOPPED IN 1973 AFTER A STRONG PRESSURE BY A STRONG OPINION BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES. BUT THE AMERICAN MILITARY SUPPORT OF THE LON NOL REGIME CONTINUES. IN THIS WAY, THE CONFLICT IN CAMBODIA IS PROLONGED. BUT IT CAN NEVER BE WON WITH MILITARY MEANS. ONLY A POLITICAL SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE. AN ENDURING PEACE IN CAMBODIA MUST BE BASED ON RESPECT FOR THE NEUTRALITY WHICH WAS ONCE MORE CONFIRMED

BY THE PARIS AGREEMENT. IT CAN ONLY BE REACHED IF ALSO THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA ARE GRANTED THE RIGHT TO FORM THEIR OWN FUTURE WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERVENTION.

WHEN THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED IN PARIS TWO YEARS AGO, IT HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY THE MOST EXTENSIVE AIR WAR IN WORLD HISTORY. OVER ALL OF INDOCHINA EIGHT MILLION TONS OF BOMBS HAD BEEN DROPPED. THIS IS THREE TIMES AS MUCH AS THE ALLIES DROPPED DURING THE ENTIRE SECOND WORLD WAR. ACCORDING TO AMERICAN ESTIMATES ALMOST THREE MILLION PEOPLE HAD BEEN KILLED OR WOUNDED IN VIETNAM ALONE. NATURALLY, THE MATERIAL DAMAGE WAS ENORMOUS. NEVERTHELESS, NORTH VIETNAM HAS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS BEEN ABLE TO START AN ENERGETIC AND EXPANSIVE REHABILITATION EFFORT. THE IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS OF THE SOCIETY ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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OPERATING -- PEOPLE HAVE JOBS, CHILDREN GO TO SCHOOL, THE HEALTH CARE IS ORGANIZED, HOUSING HAS BEEN BUILT, THE LAND IS CULTIVATED.

HERE IN SWEDEN WE HAVE ADMIRER THESE EFFORTS. BUT WE HAVE ALSO FOUND THAT THERE IS A SERIOUS LACK OF MATERIAL, EQUIPMENT AND TRANSPORTATION, WHICH ARE NECESSARY FOR A CONTINUED REHABILITATION. THOSE WHO DURING THE CONFLICT IN DIFFERENT WAYS HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE NOW HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP WITH THE REHABILITATION.

FROM THE SWEDISH SIDE, AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM OF 225 MILLION KRONOR IS PROPOSED FOR NEXT FISCAL YEAR. ALTOGETHER, MORE THAN HALF A BILLION KRONOR HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT IN HANOI HAS EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF A REHABILITATION AND FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORESTRY. THEREFORE, A MAJOR PART OF THE SWEDISH ASSISTANCE WILL BE USED FOR AN EXTENSIVE FOREST INDUSTRIAL PROJECT. THIS INCLUDES A COMBINED PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY, AS WELL AS A PROGRAM FOR REFORESTATION, TIMBER CUTTING AND TRANSPORTATION. WHEN THE INDUSTRIAL PROJECT IS COMPLETED AFTER ABOUT FOUR YEARS, SOME 55,000 TON OF PAPER WILL BE PRODUCED ANNUALLY. IT IS TO BE USED PRIMARILY FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES. IN ADDITION, THE PROJECT GIVES GOOD POSSIBILITIES TO EXTEND MODERN TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW.

IN SOUTH VIETNAM, THE REHABILITATION EFFORTS ARE MORE DIFFICULT. THE SWEDISH ASSISTANCE TO REHABILITATION

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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IN THE PRG-CONTROLLED AREAS IS PROPOSED TO BE INCREASED TO 50 MILLION KRONOR, AS PER THE LATEST BUDGET PLAN. IT IS THOUGHT THAT THIS ASSISTANCE, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, WILL TAKE THE FORM OF A LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION. THIS COOPERATION IS PROMOTED BY OUR CLOSE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE PRG -- NOT THE LEAST WITH ITS REPRESENTATIVES AT THE GENERAL DELEGATION HERE IN STOCKHOLM. AT PRESENT, THE SWEDISH ASSISTANCE CONSISTS OF GOODS FOR USE IN AGRICULTURE, ROAD BUILDING AND HEALTH CARE, AS WELL AS FOR MINE CLEARANCE IN BOMBED AREAS.

IN LAOS, SWEDEN HAS ALREADY BEGUN AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN COOPERATION WITH THE NEW UNION GOVERNMENT. THIS YEAR, 10 MILLION KRONOR ARE TO BE GIVEN IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE GROUPS AND AREAS MOST SEVERELY HIT. THE AID CONSISTS OF MEDICINES, FOODSTUFFS AND FARM EQUIPMENT. WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A SIMILAR CONTRIBUTION IN CAMBODIA. HOWEVER, AT THE PRESENT TIME THIS IS IMPRACTICAL, ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION FROM REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT GRUNK, AMONG OTHERS.

A FUNDAMENTALLY IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER SWEDEN WILL RECOGNIZE THE PRG. THIS QUESTION HAS SEVERAL TIMES BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE RIKSDAG. I WILL  
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BRIEFLY COMMENT ON THE BACKGROUND TO THE POSITIONS TAKEN

IN THE RIKSDAG BY THE GOVERNMENT. AN IMPORTANT POINT OF DEPARTURE IS WHAT IS STATED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT. THERE A PROCEDURE IS OUTLINED FOR ESTABLISHING ONE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM. AS SOON AS SUCH A GOVERNMENT CAN TAKE OFFICE, IT WILL BE RECOGNIZED BY US AND SWEDEN WILL ENTER INTO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL.

BUT THE EFFORTS TOWARD SUCH A POLITICAL SOLUTION HAVE BEEN SABOTAGED. A GENERAL ELECTION STILL SEEMS TO BE A LONG WAY OFF. WHEN THE PARIS AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED, THERE WERE TWO PARTIES REPRESENTING SOUTH VIETNAM, SAIGON AND THE PRG, WITH EACH ADMINISTERING ITS AREA. THE INTENTION WAS THAT THESE PARTIES SHOULD FORM A NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RECONCILIATION. THIS HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE AND WE MUST STATE THAT THERE ARE STILL TWO ADMINISTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, AS ADMITTED ALSO BY THE PRG. IN THIS SITUATION, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT CANNOT ASSERT THAT ONE OF THESE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS ALONE REPRESENTS THE STATE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND CAN SHOULDER THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS STATE. THIS IS THE REASON WHY WE CANNOT RECOGNIZE PRG AS PER INTERNATIONAL LAW. BUT THAT DOES NOT EXCLUDE THAT WE FEEL, AND EVEN EXPRESS, SYMPATHY FOR THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR ATTITUDE IN THIS QUESTION IS FURTHER THAT WE PROTEST AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF THE SAIGON REGIME TO REPRESENT ALL OF SOUTH VIETNAM. SUCH CLAIMS ARE IN CONTRAST TO WHAT IS STATED IN THE PARIS AGREEMENT, NAMELY THAT SO LONG AS A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ORGANIZED, THERE ARE TWO ADMINISTRATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS IS THE BACKGROUND TO THE LONG FROZEN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN SWEDEN AND THE GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON AND WHY RELATIONS HAVE BEEN BROKEN OFF.

FOR THIS REASON, WE HAVE ALSO PROTESTED AGAINST THE FACT THAT THE SAIGON REGIME ALONE HAS BEEN REPRESENTING SOUTH VIETNAM IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANS AND AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES. THE LATEST INSTANCE WAS AT THE FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME IN NOVEMBER, WHERE WE IN A STATEMENT TOOK EXCEPTION TO THE FACT THAT THE SAIGON SIDE HAD BEEN FAVORED. WE INTEND ALSO IN THE FUTURE TO

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ACTIVELY WORK FOR A FACTUAL EQUALITY BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN SUCH CONNECTIONS. EVEN FOR INTERNATIONAL ORGANS WHICH ARE PLANNING ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES IN INDOCHINA THE MEANING OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT MUST BE CLEAR. WE HAVE FOUND IT IMPORTANT IN SEVERAL INSTANCES TO EXPRESS OUR CONCERN THAT ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN GIVEN OR IS PLANNED TO BE GIVEN IN A WAY WHICH WOULD MEAN THAT THE AID WOULD GO ONLY TO ONE OF THE PARTIES, NAMELY THE SAIGON SIDE.

WE HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS QUESTION IN THE WORLD BANK GROUP. WE ARE ACTIVE IN THAT GROUP TOGETHER WITH PRIMARILY OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES SO THAT THE BANK WILL NOT REALIZE ITS PLAN FOR A UNILATERAL COMMITMENT TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE SAIGON REGIME. WE HAVE STATED THAT THE FACT THAT THE MILITARY CONFLICT CONTINUES IN SOUTH VIETNAM DOES NOT MAKE IT MORE JUSTIFIED FOR THE WORLD BANK TO STAY IN TO STRENGTHEN ONE OF THE TWO PARTIES.

DURING THE COURSE OF THE VIETNAM CONFLICT, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT HAS ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS SUPPORTED THE DEMANDS FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS. SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICIES ALWAYS AIM AT PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS. THEY ARE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND THAT MEANS THAT WE EVEN NOW SUPPORT THE DEMANDS FOR A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

SWEDISH VIETNAM POLICIES HAVE OCCASIONALLY BEEN CHARACTERIZED AS A KIND OF SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST EXPANSION EFFORTS. THIS IS A FALSE INTERPRETATION. THE WAR

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3831

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IN VIETNAM HAS BEEN A CONSEQUENCE OF THE DESIRE BY THE PEOPLE THERE, IN THE SAME WAY AS PEOPLE IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AND ASIA, TO FREE THEMSELVES FROM



THE CHAINS OF COLONIALISM. THE AMERICAN WARFARE IN INDOCHINA HAS CONSTITUTED A TAKE OVER OF THIS COLONIAL WAR. IT HAS NOT SERVED AS A PROTECTION FOR DEMOCRACY. ON THE CONTRARY, THE FACT THAT THE WAR WAS CARRIED ON IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY HAS INSTEAD MEANT A DISGRACE OF DEMOCRACY. IN OUR OPINION, THE TALK ABOUT A WORLD COMMUNIST AGGRESSION IS NOT CORRECT. IT CONCERNS RATHER THE RIGHT OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO SELF-GOVERNMENT AND FREEDOM FROM OPPRESSION. THEREFORE, ONE OF THE VERY FIRST COMMENTS BY THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON THE CONFLICT IS STILL VALID TODAY: IT IS AN ILLUSION TO THINK THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO MEET DEMANDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE BY VIOLENCE AND MILITARY POWER.

BY CONSISTENTLY UPHOLDING THESE OPINIONS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE OUR GREATEST CONTRIBUTION. IN THE BEGINNING THIS WAR WAS LITTLE KNOWN IN SWEDEN -- AND VIETNAM WAS AN UNKNOWN COUNTRY. IT HAS TAKEN A LOT OF INFORMATION AND DEBATE TO THROW LIGHT ON THE WAR AND ITS BACKGROUND. IN THIS RESPECT THE VIETNAM MOVEMENT

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HAS MADE AN ADMIRABLE CONTRIBUTION. ITS STRENGTH WAS CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MANIFESTATION AT CHRISTMAS 1972, WHEN 2.7 MILLION SWEDES WITH THEIR SIGNATURES SUPPORTED THE DEMANDS FOR A BOMBING HALT AND FOR PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE IN VIETNAM. IT IS ALSO A HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT THAT THE OPINION EFFORTS ARE STILL CONTINUING, EVEN IF THE INTEREST OF MEDIA SEEMS TO HAVE DECREASED AND DESPITE THE FACT THAT MANY OTHER EVENTS IN OUR WORLD DEMAND ATTENTION. THE SUPPORT WHICH THE SWEDISH VIETNAM COMMITTEE HAS WON FOR TODAY'S APPEAL FOR UPHOLDING THE PARIS AGREEMENT, WHICH ALL PARTY LEADERS WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE MODERATE LEADER HAVE SIGNED, DEMONSTRATES THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN INDOCHINA IS NOT FORGOTTEN AND THAT THE DEMANDS FOR INDEPENDENCE REMAIN FIRM.

BUT THIS SUPPORT IS IMPORTANT ALSO IN ANOTHER WAY. IT HAS BASICALLY ALSO SERVED A SWEDISH INTEREST. WE HAVE NOT SILENTLY OBSERVED WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN VIETNAM DURING THE LAST DECADE. IF WE HAD BEEN SILENT, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS IF WE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE SMALL STATES MUST NOT DEMAND THEIR RIGHTS. THE CONFLICT IN VIETNAM CONCERNS A SMALL NATION'S RIGHT TO FORM ITS OWN FUTURE, THE RIGHT OF A PEOPLE TO LIVE ITS OWN LIFE, AND TO DECIDE ON ITS OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

THE VIETNAMESE LIBERATION STRUGGLE HAS PERHAPS LED TO A GREATER RESPECT FOR THE DEMANDS OF THE SMALL AND THE POOR COUNTRIES. IN SUCH A CASE, OUT OF THE LONG STRUGGLES IN THIS STRICKEN COUNTRY A HOPE CAN GROW FOR A MORE

PEACEFUL FUTURE FOR ALL PEOPLE.  
STRAUSZ-HUPE

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